THE DESIRED OBJECT: PROSTITUTION IN CANADA, UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA

Suzanne E. Hatty
Senior Lecturer and Coordinator Criminology
School of Social Science and Liberal Studies
Charles Sturt University
New South Wales

The state regulation of sexuality continues to generate controversy amongst feminist scholars and activists, criminologists and law-makers. Historically, the state has upheld traditional patriarchal institutions and supported male-biased rights concerning the deployment of sexuality and reproductive abilities. The state has actively sought to entrench women's position as homemaker and sexually-available partner, whilst at the same time contesting the right of women to practise prostitution.

In a gender-stratified society, in which sex, sexuality and the body are socially-constructed, prostitution raises important questions about the nature of desire, pleasure, harm and violence. As Lowman (1986, p. 193) notes:

> For contemporary feminists, the sexual commodification of women creates an uneasy tension between a desire to suppress the trade and a desire to free prostitutes from state interference. On the one hand, prostitution represents the pole of a system of sexual stratification and must be resisted as the quintessential form of men's exploitation of women (and children of both sexes). Prostitution is the raw end [sic] of patriarchy.

In this paper, the different ways in which prostitution by women is conceptualised by prostitute advocacy groups and academics in the United States and Australia will be examined. Current research on the experience of prostitution will be reviewed, with particular emphasis on information gathered during interviews with prostitute women in Canada. The law relating to prostitution and its effects in England, Australia and Canada will then be discussed. Finally the international themes evident in the research and experiential
Sex Industry and Public Policy

data will be reiterated, and the implications of these themes for women's lives will be considered.

**Competing Models of Prostitution**

During the 1970s and 1980s, serious attempts have been made to transform the image of prostitutes as 'social misfits, sexual slaves, victims of pimps and drug addiction, and tools of organised crime' (Jenness 1990, p. 403). This attempt, undertaken largely by prostitute advocacy groups, has sought to supplant this image with another: prostitutes as legitimate waged labourers similar to other employees, except that the work is stigmatised and subject to police interference and harassment.

However, the struggle over the control of prostitution as a social problem has been intense. At present, there appear to be two dominant discourses about prostitution evident in the reform posture adopted by USA and Australian advocacy groups. First, there is the notion that prostitution is work. This is exemplified by the stance of COYOTE (Call Off Your Tired Old Ethics) in the USA, and the Scarlet Alliance in Australia. COYOTE functions on three premises: first, prostitution in general is a voluntarily-selected occupation; second, prostitution should be regarded as equivalent in social status to other service organisations; and, third, legal restrictions on the practice of prostitution constitute a violation of civil rights concerning the freedom to choose employment. As Jenness notes (1990, p. 417):

> By invoking and institutionalising a vocabulary of sex as work, prostitutes as sex workers, and prostitutes' civil rights as workers, COYOTE's claims sever the social problem of prostitution from its historical association with sin, criminality and illicit sex. The social problem of prostitution is firmly placed in the rhetoric of work and civil rights.

Whilst COYOTE acknowledges that violence and even death are risks associated with prostitution, these violations are seen as resulting from the illegal status of prostitution in some jurisdictions, as well as the stigma attached to the work itself. Violence and other hazards are viewed as occupational health and safety issues—just as asbestos might constitute a health threat for building workers (see Hunter 1990). This association of prostitution with other forms of work is made clear by Dolores French, the president of the Florida branch of COYOTE (cited in Jenness 1990, p. 405):

> A woman has the right to sell sexual services just as much as she has the right to sell her brains to a law firm where she works as a lawyer, or to sell her creative work to a museum when she works as an artist, or to sell her image to a photographer when she works as a model or to sell her body when she works as a ballerina. Since most people can have sex without going to jail, there is no reason except old fashioned prudery to make sex for money illegal.

This construction of prostitution as waged labour has been strongly challenged by other groups and individuals. The Council for Prostitution Alternatives in Portland, Oregon (n.d.), believes that prostitution is not a victimless crime, but an activity which disproportionately victimises women. The Council claims that prostitution is 'dehumanising, abusive and life threatening'. The Council asserts that prostitution is not freely chosen, and prostitutes 'should neither be treated as victims to be rescued, nor as criminals to be punished'. Consequently, legal responses, such as criminalisation or legalisation, fail to address the problem; further, 'unequal enforcement of the laws . . . reinforce the victimisation process by targeting prostitutes as 'the problem' while allowing the majority of participants (perpetrators) to
continue their exploitation'. Hence, the Council believes that prostitute women should be offered the opportunity to empower themselves through relinquishing prostitution and finding appropriate, alternative employment. The Council provides an extensive program based on a 'realist theory' of intervention involving major improvements in self-concept and personal autonomy. The program focuses on confronting the victimisation process which precedes and accompanies prostitution, and shifting the emphasis from powerlessness to self-responsibility and self-care (Davis, Hunter & Neland 1990).

This second model of prostitution is consistent with the proposition, contained in academic discourse, that prostitution is a type of gender victimisation (Davis 1990) or a paradigmatic case of sexism (Davis & Hatty 1990). Also, it has features in common with the theoretical position of Carole Pateman (1988), who argues that prostitution should not be equated with work. Pateman maintains that prostitution is inherent in the 'sexual contract' that exists in patriarchal society. In this contract, men are defined as citizens with power and authority vested in their person. Moreover, men are guaranteed access to women's bodies under the law of male sex-right. In prostitution, men buy the sexual body of the woman, a far more significant purchase than that which occurs between employer and employee in capitalist society. However, as the self inheres within a consciousness about the body, men buy the person or the 'embodied self' of the woman when engaging a prostitute. Thus, prostitution cannot be reduced to the sale of 'sexual services'.

In this model, violence against prostitute women can be seen as the logical extension of the prostitute contract (the ownership, for a period of time, of the woman) and the expression of the patriarchal equivalence between male sexuality (desire) and violence (annihilation). Hence, Leder (1990, p. 155) is correct in assuming that women are defined as other to the essential (male) self, 'just as the body is other', and 'insofar as the body is seen as mindless and in need of control, so too its representatives. Subjugation becomes a necessity and a natural prerogative'.

The Experience of Prostitution

Research conducted on women who work as prostitutes indicates that poverty plays a major role in drawing women into prostitution (see, for example, Perkins & Bennett 1985; and Victoria, Inquiry into Prostitution 1985, with regard to Australia). The structural inequalities associated with a highly stratified labour market, in which women earn only a fraction of men's wages, render prostitution an attractive alternative to impoverishment. However, it is possible to argue that women who are disadvantaged through their membership of marginal groups are candidates for prostitution (Hatty, forthcoming).

Being poor, an immigrant or a rural dweller increases women's vulnerability to recruitment into prostitution. In some Asian and European countries, these forms of marginality are significant contributors to the maintenance of the prostitution 'trade'. Davis (1989) notes that in Taiwan a young girl can be bought or pawned as a prostitute, or even adopted into prostitution. In Yugoslavia, impoverished girls from rural areas are easily identified by professional procurers in urban areas. These procurers provide offers of 'employment' in the large cities (Davis 1989). Consequently, social dislocation and the removal of traditional constraints and ties may limit women's options for economic survival and increase the likelihood of induction into prostitution. This point has been made in a poignant comment offered by a representative of the Canadian group POWER (Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights). This woman stated (cited in Lowman 1989a, p. A-203):

The daughter of one of the working women I know came home from school one day and had heard about prostitutes at school. She asked her mother, 'What
is a prostitute?' And her mother said, 'A hungry girl'. That's the best definition I can think of.

Interviews with women who work as prostitutes in Vancouver have confirmed the centrality of economic considerations to the decision to become a prostitute (Lowman 1984; 1989a). The interviews document the psychological cost of adopting the stigmatised role of prostitute. One woman said (cited in Lowman 1984, p. 245):

There were times . . . I'd wake up, look at myself in the mirror first thing in the morning and go I'm a hooker—you're not worth anything.

Another woman commented (cited in Lowman 1984, p. 246):

For years I had a very low self-esteem. Society's attitudes makes one feel different about themselves. The reinforcement that you're a whore, that you're nothing, that you're a low-life does have an impact on how you feel about yourself.

Other, negative experiences tend to occur disproportionately in the early lives of women who work as prostitutes. These experiences have been described as 'preconditioning' to prostitution (see Davis 1989), a kind of gender-work undertaken to intensify the effects of women's victim status in society (see Elias 1986). Within the sample of 600 female prostitutes working in Portland, Oregon, it was found that almost half the group reported being sexually assaulted by a male relative as a child, and over half of the group reported being physically assaulted by a family member (Davis, Hunter & Neland 1990). A survey of Vancouver prostitutes revealed that about 70 per cent were victims of sexual assault prior to leaving home, and over three-quarters of the women had experienced parental violence. The majority of the women interviewed had run away from home at least once, and almost a third had lived in group or foster homes. The average age of entry into prostitution was 16 years (Lowman 1989a).

Women working as prostitutes maintain that the activities undertaken in exchange for money are not experienced as 'sexual', that is, they do not provoke desire. Vancouver prostitutes report a preference for activities that are quick, easy and non-intimate. Lowman (1984) notes that prostitutes eschew any form of sexual intimacy with their 'tricks' (customers) and, hence, prefer 'blows' (oral sex) or 'lays' (sexual intercourse) because condoms provide a physical—and psychological—barrier between the woman and her client. One woman articulated this clearly when she said (cited in Lowman 1984, p. 214):

This one guy came up to me, he wanted me to blow some coke with him but I don't do coke. He said, 'What would be your idea of a really good time? I want to satisfy you'. I thought, Oh no, one of these, like . . . I want to satisfy you too. Look honey, I'm not here to be satisfied. You giving me the money is the satisfaction (emphasis added).

Harassment, abuse and violence are integral to prostitution whether it is practised in the United States, Canada or Australia. Research with women who work as prostitutes in Portland, Oregon, found that 80 per cent of the women surveyed reported being sexually assaulted whilst working as a prostitute. These assaults included attacks with fists, bottles, guns, knives, being bound and gagged, tied with ropes or chains, being hung from ceiling beams or trees, and being photographed during the assault (Davis, Hunter & Neland 1990). Many prostitute women have also been killed over the last few years. The Green River murders—a series of killings of prostitute women which began in Seattle, Washington, and possibly extended to Portland, Oregon, and San Diego, California—remain unsolved.
Women working as prostitutes in Canada also report high levels of physical abuse. Violence at the hands of clients, police officers and pimps appears common. Speaking of her experience of eight years of prostitution, one Vancouver woman said (cited in Lowman 1984, p. 231):

I have two scars on the back of my head. I have a broken nose in two places. I've had a broken jaw which has a pin in the back of it. I've had five or six broken ribs . . . My hands were scalded; they were put on a hot plate; I still have scars all over my hands. I've had a drill bit pushed into my fingers. I've had a gun pulled at my head; the trigger has been pulled and then the guy was laughing because he didn't have it loaded. I've had hoses pulled on me, fire hoses, high pressure hoses. I've had bottles thrown at me. I had a beer bottle break over my body. I've been set on fire. I've had gasoline put on me . . . I've been stabbed. I've been run over. I've been thrown from the third storey of a building. I have been robbed numerous times. I've been punched out numerous times . . . I'm talking hundreds. Hundreds and hundreds of bad dates (tricks/customers) in eight years.

Not surprisingly, this woman worked as a street prostitute, a type of prostitution that arguably increases the vulnerability of individual women to violence. (See Hatty (1989) for a discussion of the implications of the social organisation of prostitution for the occurrence of harm to women who work as prostitutes.)

Generally, the most serious risk posed by working on the streets is violence perpetrated by 'bad tricks'. Prostitute women are aware that they could be killed, severely beaten or raped during the course of their work. However, due to their marginal status and the consequent lack of legal protection, many women do not report such attacks to the police (Davis, Hunter & Neland 1990; Lowman 1984; 1989a). Prostitute advocacy groups are a main source of information and protection. The Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes (now Prostitutes and Other Women for Equal Rights or POWER) began publishing its Bad Trick Sheets in Vancouver in 1982. These sheets provide information on the client and the offensive action and are intended to alert prostitute women to the danger associated with this individual. An analysis of the Bad Trick Sheets issued by POWER over a recent three-year period showed that the offending client was most likely to be a white male, and the most common form of violence was physical assault, followed by sexual assault. 'Bad tricks' were perceived to be young males in their twenties or thirties, and their victims were women of a similar age or female juveniles (Lowman 1989a).

The available evidence indicates that women do not exercise free choice in becoming a prostitute but are mindful of the restricted employment opportunities for women in society, especially women from disadvantaged backgrounds. In addition, the evidence indicates that prostitute women are subjected to frequent acts of verbal abuse and physical violence, including sexual assault, and are stigmatised as 'whores' or 'hookers'. They suffer the individual effects of various forms of abuse in their families of origin and the consequent loss of self-esteem and self-hood. Whilst financially compensated for the activities undertaken, prostitute women do not derive sexual pleasure from these activities. Also, they appear to tolerate their clients and harbour resentment of the objectification of all women inherent in prostitution. As one woman said (cited in Lowman 1984, p. 217):

Men who go to prostitutes go to prostitutes (and I've been hooking for nineteen years) because it's a power trip. They pay the money, they get to call the shots. They own you for that half-hour or that twenty minutes or that hour. They are buying you. They have no attachments, you're not a person, you're a thing to be used.
The Legal Regulation of Prostitution

The law relating to prostitution has been the subject of significant debate in many countries over the past fifteen years or so. To a large extent, the focus of this debate has been upon the control of street prostitution. Despite the claims that prostitution is associated with crime, illicit drugs, and HIV/AIDS, it is the visibility of street prostitution that has proved problematic for law-makers and the community. Resident campaigns have been mounted in many Australian jurisdictions, including New South Wales and Victoria, over the last decade, and have resulted in political pressure being exerted to vigilantly police street prostitution (see Hatty 1989; forthcoming). Similar experiences with street prostitution have been reported in England (Edwards 1984; 1987) and Canada (Lowman 1984; 1989a).

In England, female prostitutes have been exposed to higher levels of police intervention during the past ten years (Edwards 1987). In 1985, the Sexual Offences Act was introduced. The objective of the legislation was the control of street prostitution. In response to the legislation, women who work as prostitutes have found new means of contacting clients. Often this has meant that these women are vulnerable to exploitation, abuse and violence meted out by clients, pimps and the police.

In New South Wales, the introduction of the Summary Offences Act 1988 relating to prostitution and public order offences was an explicit attempt to confine prostitute women within certain areas of Sydney and to reduce the public visibility of street prostitution. The legislation deems an act of prostitution which occurs ‘within view from’ a school, church, hospital, dwelling or public place an offence. The aim of the legislation, according to the former Attorney-General John Dowd, is to drive prostitutes ‘out of the suburbs, out of the parks and public places’ (cited in Hatty 1989, p. 240-1). This ideological statement, in which prostitutes are equated with outlaws and other deviants, is consistent with the approach adopted within the resident action campaigns of the 1980s. These campaigns sought to eradicate street prostitution from suburbia (for example, the campaign in Canterbury, Sydney) and the commercial and residential areas of the inner-city (for example, the campaign in Darlinghurst, Sydney). Concern was raised about declining property values, traffic congestion, discarded syringes and condoms and the propositioning of non-prostitute women by potential clients. This led to the increased criminalisation of women who work as street prostitutes in Sydney. The act of ‘driving’ prostitutes from established beats and necessitating the establishment of new locations for soliciting increased the risk of physical and sexual assault of street prostitutes. Women who work alone in new areas or who accept ‘car jobs’ to escape police detection are now more vulnerable to various types of crime.

In Canada, public anxiety over street prostitution has assumed a similar form to its Australian counterpart. Until the late 1970s, the Canadian courts determined that it was an offence under Criminal Code s. 195.1 to ‘solicit any person in a public place for the purpose of prostitution’. The Hutt decision of 1978 defined soliciting as behaviour that was both ‘pressing or persistent’ in nature (Lowman 1989b). Hence, prostitutes had to engage in more than an offer of sexual services for payment in order to be arrested. In 1983, the Canadian Federal Government established the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (the Fraser Committee) to review the current circumstances and recommend legislative changes. The Committee released its report in 1985. The Federal Government also set up the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth (the Badgley Committee) in 1981 to investigate juvenile prostitution, among other matters, and suggest law reform in the area. The Committee released its report in 1984.

Lowman, Jackson, Palys & Gavigan (1986, p. XV) note that both reports instigated ‘widespread support and trenchant criticism’. One criticism of the Fraser Committee report was that it attempted to locate prostitution within the private domain. The Report of the
Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution (Canada 1985, p. 547) maintained:

... If prostitution is a reality with which we have to deal in the foreseeable future, then it is preferable that it take place, as far as possible, in private, and without the opportunities for exploitation which have been traditionally associated with commercialised prostitution.

However, despite the recommendations of the Fraser Committee, the Federal Government merely revised the section of the Criminal Code dealing with street prostitution. In 1985, the Federal Government enacted legislation defining the offer to buy or sell sexual services in a public place as an offence (Bill C-49). The legislation states that it is an offence to 'in any manner communicate or attempt to communicate with any person for the purpose of engaging in prostitution or of obtaining the services of a prostitute'. This is often referred to as the 'communicating' law.

Whilst prostitution itself is not illegal in Canada (Lowman 1989b), there are a number of laws which prohibit activities associated with prostitution. One set of statutes prohibits the keeping of 'places' as prostitution houses (the 'bawdy house' laws). The definition of 'places' ranges from parking lots to circus tents (Lowman 1989b). A second and third set of statutes prohibit living off the earnings of prostitution and procuring prostitutes for others. A fourth statute, enacted in 1988, prohibits the purchase of, or offer to purchase, sexual services from an individual under eighteen years. This statute is interesting in light of the finding that many adult female prostitutes in Vancouver report being asked to procure female juveniles for clients or report being treated like children themselves. One woman commented (cited in Lowman 1984, p. 219):

Yes, (I get) lots of requests for kids. Especially in the last four or five years. It's getting worse. They want younger and younger kids ... In one case an eight-year-old ... Another one wanted a six-year-old ... Some of them will ask you to shave your pubic hairs because it reminds them of a little girl.

Another woman said (cited in Lowman 1984, p. 220):

... They have asked me for really young girls. Really young. Lots of tricks [clients] ask me to call them daddy. Wear shorts and bobby socks and that's why I wear my bobby socks, ask me to call them daddy and all this.

An evaluation of Bill C-49 (the 'communicating' law) was undertaken recently in five major cities across Canada: Calgary, Halifax, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. The evaluation was intended to address the four major issues raised by Bill C-49. These have been described as follows:

(a) Has there been a reduction in the number and visibility of street prostitutes and their customers?

(b) What have been the law's other effects (for example, the displacement of street prostitution to off-street services, increase in danger encountered by prostitutes, deterioration of prostitute/police relations)?

(c) Have the police and courts found the law easier to apply than previous legislation?

(d) Has the law been applied equally to male and female prostitutes, and to their customers? (Canada 1989, p. 8)
The results of the national evaluation of Bill C-49 found that the legislation did not appear to reduce the number and visibility of street prostitution in many cities, but led to the displacement of prostitution from one part of the city to another. Criminalising prostitution appeared to have little deterrent effect, particularly on structurally powerless groups such as native women. However, working conditions did deteriorate for many women after the introduction of Bill C-49. Clients were fewer in number in many cities, and prostitute women could not reject as many customers as they had previously. Vancouver and Calgary were cities in which violence against female prostitutes had escalated as a result of Bill C-49. Also, police impersonated customers in an attempt to identify prostitutes communicating with others for the purpose of commercial sex. Consequently, prostitutes were compelled to develop counter-strategies to identify police. These included asking the potential client to expose his genitals or touch the woman's breasts. Needless to say, these counter-strategies did not prevent police from engaging in these behaviours and then arresting the women.

The police departments in different cities adopted varying policies in implementing Bill C-49. Nevertheless, almost all the charges laid against prostitutes were effected by undercover police officers (decoy customers). This resulted in an imbalance in the arrest of prostitutes vis-a-vis their clients: in Vancouver, Calgary and Halifax, fewer than one quarter of the charges were laid against clients. Prostitute women were disproportionately criminalised.

Conviction rates on communication charges were high in all the cities studied. It is noteworthy that prostitutes received more severe sentences than their clients in every city. However, even when prior criminal record was held constant, prostitutes in Vancouver were still sentenced more harshly than their clients. Yet, Lowman (1989a, p. 209) argues:

> By all accounts tricks are more likely than prostitutes to be deterred by the threat of criminalisation; in a purely instrumental sense they might, in some ways, be more responsive to law enforcement efforts than prostitutes. Yet current proposals for a more punitive approach to street prostitution are generally aimed at repeat offenders, that is, prostitutes. There is a tendency to treat the prostitute as the primary problem (it is mainly her visibility that stimulates resident complaints to the police) and the 'criminal' deserving of the greater attention (police usually refer to the customer as a 'square john' or a 'citizen', not a 'criminal').

Those who advocate alternatives to the punitive approach to prostitution often refer to the legalisation or decriminalisation of prostitution. These options may be encompassed within the regulatory approach to prostitution in which prostitution is permitted within the limits of a licensing or zoning system (Hatty 1989). Such an approach applies in Victoria, Australia.

With the introduction of the *Prostitution Regulation Act 1986* (Vic.) came a new ideology of prostitution. Under the *Planning (Brothels) Act 1984* (Vic.), brothels were licensed as commercial establishments. Prostitute women were encouraged to work in licensed brothels and relinquish street prostitution. Under the Prostitution Regulation Act, penalties were applied to soliciting, accosting or loitering in a public place for the purpose of prostitution. However, by all accounts, the working conditions of both brothel prostitutes and street prostitutes have declined significantly (see Hatty 1989). The licensing of brothels—and the discourse on free-market trade—have intensified the commodification of women's bodies. Rather than increasing women's autonomy within the prostitution industry, the prevailing legislation has underscored the prostitute's status as outlaw and 'a thing to be used'.
Conclusion

The select review of the international research outlined above indicates that there are several commonalities underlying the practice of prostitution in English-speaking countries. First, the structured inequality of women in the marketplace, and the inadequacy of welfare provision, creates an economic climate in which prostitution may be seen as a viable alternative to mainstream employment or, indeed, poverty. Women's vulnerability to recruitment into prostitution is thus structured into the economies of many modern western countries. Women who are displaced from rural to urban areas, or are without networks of social support, are particularly likely to be exploited by pimps or procurers. Women, especially young women, who have divorced themselves from their family of origin and may be living a precarious existence on the streets may have to resort to prostitution to survive. Also, women who have been victimised within their family of origin, or by others prior to adolescence, may be inducted into prostitution at a later date. From a psychological perspective, the lessons learned about the self, the body, and the power of others (particularly males) to deprive the individual of autonomy over her life are profound. This dissociation from the body and its pleasures, and to some extent its pain, is frequently reported by child sexual assault victims. It is not surprising, then, to find that adult female prostitutes refer to this severing of the body from the self. Clearly, however, this is not just the legacy of childhood abuse. It is also an enabling attitude, an adaptive device which allows prostitute women to engage in intimate activities without risking the disintegration of the self.

Yet ironically, the body/mind split is integral to contemporary patriarchal society. With its origins in Plato's emphasis on the purified soul and the Cartesian disavowal of the body in favour of the 'cogito', contemporary society valorises disembodied rationality. Female prostitution is the paradigmatic case of the body/mind split. Prostitution is premised on the established duality between body and mind: the prostitute becomes insensate matter to be purchased, matter devoid of cognitive influence or sensual desire. Hence, the individual histories of prostitute women and the construction of prostitution as an organised activity within society converge to create one reality.

The legal regulation of prostitution by the state tends to further embed prostitute women in cultures of abuse and violence. Even where law reform appears progressive, it often has the effect of marginalising the women who choose to work outside the systems of regulation. The international concern over street prostitution and the attendant anxieties over the visibility of prostitutes has generated a flurry of legal activity. The intention of this legal activity has been to 'drive' prostitute women out of public places and confine them in restricted public spaces or the private sector. However, the confining of women in the private domain has been associated, historically, with the oppression of women. Men have enjoyed rights over women's bodies in the private domain which have extended to physical and sexual abuse. Of course, violence against female partners continues to be a serious and widespread problem (Hatty 1987; 1989; Belknap forthcoming).

The attempt to relegate prostitution to the private domain, with its inevitable invisibility, is a predictable strategy. The state can thereby ensure the reproduction of patriarchal relations and particularly can render non-problematic men's recourse to prostitution, with its exploitation, violence and abuse. To fail to understand the imperatives dictating the state regulation of prostitution is to fail to understand that prostitution is about social and economic inequality. As John Lowman notes (1986, p. 211):

If we are offended by prostitution itself or by the power relations embodied in it, the object of political and legal action should be the social and economic structures in which prostitution is situated, . . . (and) not its visibility.
References


Council for Prostitution Alternatives (n.d.), Philosophy, Portland, Oregon.


----------- 1986, 'You Can Do It, But Don't Do It Here: Some Comments on Proposals for the Reform of Canadian Prostitution Law', in *Regulating Sex*, eds J. Lowman, M.A. Jackson, T.S. Palys & S. Gavigan, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver.


